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Besides being instructed in the matter in this somewhat vague manner for his actual possession, the new Taro man may receive from him certain 'medicines', and will learn from him the various points of Taro ritual. The latter, of course, he can see with his own eyes, as in the Taro cult there is little secrecy.

He now then follows, almost invariably, the stage in which the new initiate dreams; and in his dream he has communication with the spirit, his own particular visitant and benefactor. In the course of these communications he receives all over again the medicines and the ritual of the Taro, but yet, as we shall see, with some little point of difference. Several examples of such dreams have been given already, and more of them will appear incidentally in the course of the report, so that it is not necessary to describe any at this moment. The study of native dreams is in itself an interesting one, and the Orokaiva has his own methods of interpreting them, which incidentally provides a valuable illustration of the logic of magic. Suffice it here to say that the Orokaiva believes in dreams, i.e. he believes that they are true portents of the future, that they contain reliable messages for the present, and that in them the spirits may appear to the dreamer. Further, he believes not only in his own dreams but in those of others. When we add to these facts the chicanery of the magician, we can understand why the Taro man always publishes abroad his own dreams, which will place a supernatural sanction upon his supposed inspiration. Indeed, it is a habit to call in the dream to reinforce a statement. There is a certain legend, that of the man-slayer Totoima, which is widely known among the Orokaiva. When I first heard it I asked my informant (a young man) where he had got the story, and believed him when he said that he had dreamt it. Subsequently I heard that tale from a dozen different informants in a dozen parts of the Division; the young man had merely claimed credit for its invention. It is not altogether impossible that natives, excited by new experiences, upon which their thoughts dwell overmuch by day, might

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formed in one of the men's houses, *oro*, which is usually no more than a roofed platform. In the event of a large festival, a *ba oro*, or Taro house, will be constructed for the occasion, and after the feast this structure may remain as in some sort a temple of the Taro. It is frequented (not always exclusively) by the accredited Taro men and their professional visitors; it is the scene of recurring *kasamba*; and in some cases it is the place for food offerings to the spirits. A miniature platform will sometimes be found in the roof gable, with a dish of taro and dried fish, to which the spirits help themselves, betraying their presence, I am told, by faint 'sip sip' noises, like the chirping of the geckos which haunt all native houses. In the *ba oro* a Taro man will sometimes sit alone, belabouring his drum and shaking his rattled spear. This, for reasons which he probably cannot explain, will please the spirits and induce them to prosper the taro.

Besides the very congenial duties of singing and eating, the Taro man has certain more directly useful tasks. These consist especially in the use of his medicines. *Ba sivo*, or magical fertilizers for the taro plant, were known long before the present cult came into being. One can often see in them a kind of logic, that of homoeopathic magic. For instance, there is a certain plant named *Iori babiva* which bears a striking resemblance to the taro, but differs from it in being much larger and ranker. These qualities are just what the gardener requires in his vegetables, so he drops a fragment of *Iori babiva* leaf in the hole before he drops in the taro shoot. This is merely an example: there are medicines without number for taro, sugar-cane, yams, and all the other products of the garden. The Taro men, being in a manner specialists, savants, and horticultural as well as spiritual leaders, make great play with this means of advancing the crops. The pharmacopoeia is an extensive one, and each Taro man will name half a dozen well-known *ba sivo*—common property of all who follow the cult—and probably, if you engage to keep his secret, one or two private medicines

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of his own. The former, about which there is no professional secrecy, are regularly associated with the taro as stock medicines. The most conspicuous is *Tumeni*, the crimson amaranth, which so often adds a touch of gay colour to the garden clearing. Another is the wild thyme *Bayoga*, which is also planted in the garden and which stood, as I learn from Mr. Elder, for the taro of the taro spirits. Other *ba sivo* are used in the manner I have already described for *Iori babiva*, viz. by planting fragments of them together with the taro shoot; and with others again the method of applying or administering the tonic seems almost incomprehensibly indirect. One Taro man possessed (in secret partnership with his *nabori* or brother-in-law) a medicine which must be rubbed upon the sharp-edged oyster shell, in order to impart some vigour to the taro plant as its drooping leaves were pruned off with this implement. A more usual method of administering the medicine is to chew it with betel-nut, and then to spray it from the mouth over the plant.

A scene witnessed in the Aiga country is in many ways typical of the Taro cult, and in it we may see the medicine man at one of his characteristic tasks. A number of guests have assembled in the village of Totemaburari. The night and much of the forenoon have been spent in singing Taro songs, but still the revellers, whose endurance is greater than the jazzer's, show no signs of exhaustion. The principal Taro man, named Home, has been of late visited by his deceased father and has awoken to find a fresh supply of medicines in his hand. He now carries, strung together, a number of tiny packets, each neatly done up in a wrapping of green leaf, and each a very sizable mouthful. Upon close examination the packet proves to contain a somewhat repulsive hotchpotch, or rather salad, of five taro medicines, which have been already chewed with betel, spat out, and wrapped in the tidy, fair-seeming, little parcels to await a second chewing. At about noon Home, supported by two assistants who

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are like himself qualified Taro men, and attended by some twenty boisterous youths, sallies forth to perform the business of the day. This is nothing less than a wholesale medical treatment of the taro. Pushing rapidly through the garden, Home is seen to stoop and spray the medicines from his mouth over the taro leaves. He is continually tearing the husks from betel-nuts, which are necessary both to keep up his spirits and to ensure a suitably liquid medium for the *ba sivo*, and continually plies himself with the little green packets which contain the *ba sivo* itself. Here and there he pauses to break off some of the larger leaves (for the taros are well advanced and almost shoulder high). His two associates are similarly engaged, and meanwhile the chorus of young men, armed with their drums, are following or crowding around. The progress of the party is rapid and almost reckless: in reality the ceremony must conduce rather to the destruction than the growth of the taro, for the young drummers care little where they trample. The heat of the overhead sun is beyond endurance. The thirsty young men tear down bunches of sugar-cane and pounce upon the water-melons, regardless of their owners. One vociferous old woman stands in valiant defence of her melons, and a number of girls run on ahead to pluck their betel-pepper before the all-devouring chorus has reached it. But there is no lack of goodwill and merriment, and when, after almost two hours of this exceedingly strenuous employment, the Taro men return to the village, it is to partake of the feast which concludes almost every native ceremony.

The rationale of this Taro ceremony is no more clear than usual. The five constituents of the medicine in the small packets were, one ventures to say, entirely useless —like the vast majority of native medicines. But for each of them, if we could discover the idea of their inventors, discoverers, or patentees, there is no doubt some frail bond of magical logic which made them obvious and proper medicines for taro. The breaking of the leaves

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was explained by Home in the following way. As the taro approaches maturity the outer leaves should droop and fall. He desired an early ripening of this particular crop, and felt that, by breaking off some of the larger leaves here and there, he would expedite the general falling of leaves which would indicate that the tubers were ready.

Some of the medicines used by the Taro men are apparently meant, not to stimulate the taro itself, but to provoke the shaking-fit or *jipari* in the Taro man. It may perhaps be felt that, by contributing in some way to the power of the latter, they contribute also, though indirectly, to the prosperity of the former. However, a Taro man of Wasida showed me, in strict secrecy, eight *jipari-kore*, or ' shaking medicines ', which were intended primarily to produce in him the condition of *jipari*. They included the amaranth (*Tumeni*) and the flame-coloured coxcomb (*Siroru*), both of them taken in the form of a cold infusion. The first, my informant said, gave him a headache.

Hovere, a wild verbena (?), and *Derega*, a very harmless-looking grass, were taken in a curiously indirect form: their seeds were burnt with lime which was subsequently taken with betel. Considering the method of lime-burning, it seems hardly possible that any effect could be produced on the lime by a few grass seeds; nevertheless, it was claimed that *Hovere* was a strong medicine. Two others, both creepers, were said to affect the legs of the Taro man. It has not been possible to have these various plants analysed, but I venture to think the labour of analysis would be largely wasted. As the number of native medicines is already so great, and as new medicines are constantly being added to the list, and as the reason for their efficacy, where it is understood, turns out to be simply magical, one may venture to say that in the vast majority of cases there is nothing in them. Empirically the native may discover stimulant or poisonous properties in certain plants, but in nine cases out of ten—

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probably much more often—the effect which he attributes to his medicine, i.e. the *jipari*, is due to a complex of excitement, bad example, and betel-nut.

As certain medicines are prescribed for the Taro man either to increase his own power or else to be transmitted by him to the taro itself, so on the other hand there are many restrictions placed upon him for negative, but similar, reasons. He is in fact dieted with some strictness, and the reasons which govern these food taboos are worth considering. In a great majority of cases the man who observes the taboo is completely ignorant of any logical basis for it: he has learnt it by rote, so to speak, having received it as part of the cult from his instructor, and not only has he never heard a sensible argument in its favour, but, if taxed for such an argument, can think of none save *ad verecundiam*. But sometimes one meets a native with a spark of imagination. The explanations which he may give of the taboos are not necessarily the original ones, but notwithstanding they are typical native explanations, and at least as good as the original. A few examples will show what real grounds there are for the prohibitions. *Pauri*, the cuscus, is forbidden because of the yellowish colour of its fur, dappled with brown spots. Should the Taro man eat *Pauri* it is likely that the taro leaf will develop similar properties instead of keeping the rich green colour which is indicative of health. *Auja*, the red pandanus seed, and *sasaru*, a kind of frog, are tabooed for the same reason. It was explained that the frog, when cooked, is of a yellow-brown colour which is unwholesome not so much for the Taro man as for the taro. *Ambe*, or sago, was avoided in some quarters because the roots at the butt of the palm are often exposed in a way that is not desirable for the taro tuber. *Imbaga* the crocodile, *wotomo* a kind of flat fish, and *obiti* the eel were 'too heavy'. The idea of weight seems to be associated very commonly with sickness, and it is felt that the Taro man who ate creatures in which this quality is so obviously embodied, would be endangering his power of healing.

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the native (pp. 31, 34), though how or why it should pass from one man to another is not made clear. Independently of this communication, however, the native theory of *jipari* is one of possession. The subject is possessed by the *atiti* or spirit, either of the taro itself or of a dead man. We need not worry about the latter distinction as it has been dealt with at some length already (section 5).

The *atiti* is an immaterial thing. In common use, as has been mentioned, it means shadow or reflection. The Taro man often compares it to a breath of wind, *pupu*. It is said merely to 'come' to a man (*gumbari*); sometimes to 'strike' him (*dari*); in pidgin English it is said to 'jump up' on him. One witness explained that it entered his body and rose to his head, where it caused the violent wagging which is the most typical symptom of *jipari*. The shaking-fit is due to the immanence of the *atiti*. It is felt, not seen. Only, it would appear, in dreams or trances does one actually see the spirit of the taro or of the dead. A man may first be seized by the *jipari* and subsequently come to realize that it is a spirit which has entered him and caused it. This revelation usually comes through a dream, as it did in the case of Buninia (p. 14). In one case an informant said that his *jipari* and his dream-visit occurred simultaneously; in another the informant had slept with some taro medicine *bayoga* in his armlet, had visited in his dreams the 'village of the Taro people', and in the morning had experienced his first attack of *jipari*. But the usual sequence, and indeed the natural one, is for the apocalypse to follow the fit.

While native theory as to the cause of *jipari* seems clear enough there is no such certainty regarding the effect of it. It is quite generally professed that oft-repeated shaking makes the taro grow; indeed, an expert may go into the gardens to shake amid the vegetables with the express purpose of benefiting them. But no informant ever gave a satisfactory explanation of how this cause should operate. In so far as it is thought to aid the growth of the taro one can only compare the *jipari* to those instinctive

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the patient make him a present, which he accepts, probably with no attempt to conceal his disgust if it be too small. A number of informants being told that the European doctor had a habit of rendering his account, replied that it was not so with the New Guinea doctor: sometimes his patients paid; sometimes they did not; but, unlike the white man, he was not wild with those who did not choose to pay. One old man, ex-corporal of police, said he was well enough aware of the white man's custom in this matter and intended to act up to it himself. Whereas formerly he had been over-generous with his skill, he now meant to insist on payment or would stand by and see the patient die. These protestations notwithstanding, it is customary to pay or reward the doctor. I have no definite instance of out-and-out extortion, though I should be very reluctant to assert that extortion is never practised by the Taro man. As was pointed out, the native is shrewd enough to conceal what he knows to be unlawful, so that we cannot look for candid confession.

It is natural enough that the Taro specialist should claim some authority over the weather. Although this weather-control is of small importance among his other activities, it deserves a brief mention. When, as so often, the afternoon sky is darkened by approaching rain, and the success of the feast is threatened, the Taro man will utter a loud inarticulate cry, a true note without rise or fall, and prolonged to the limit of his lungs' endurance. He may sweep the clouds back with angry gestures and cry *Wa doio*, 'Cease rain!' or *Hambujo, hambujo*, 'Rain, rain go away!' He may have medicines such as the branches of *Isuga* or *Esege*, which are scorched in the fire and flourished against the oncoming storm; indeed, it was maintained by some that without the medicine (which is likely to be a close secret) a man would yell and wave his arms entirely in vain.

Sometimes the rain is averted, sometimes it disregards the Taro man and gives him a wetting. A number of young men sitting in the *ba oro* were watching with

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apprehension the increasing blackness of the sky. There was a great accumulation of food in the village and the guests were expected in the afternoon. The singing and drum-beating of Taro men is itself efficacious against the rain. They sang and beat their drums with all the vigour of anxiety, and while they did so the mounting clouds broke over the village in a deluge of rain. This, therefore, was no ordinary rain, or it would have held off; it was the work of a sorcerer, perhaps it was said that of old Mendeambo of Bolagasusu.

As the Taro man is powerless to cure the diseases which have been caused by sorcery so is he powerless against the sorcerer's rain. His province is to deal with the rain which had been brought on by spirits, by the 'dead men'. I was told that to quarrel with a Taro man would be sufficient to bring about an untimely downpour, because the spirit immanent in him would be offended.

While the Taro man claims to avert the rain, I have, oddly enough, little evidence of his claims to make the rain. The drought has more terrors for the Orokaiva than the flood, and a long dry spell, with its attendant scarcity, is commonly ascribed to the malice of a sorcerer. Whatever the cause, it puts a check upon Taro activities. Despite its claim to succour and support the vegetable crop the cult seems unable to cope with the sun, its worst enemy as well as its best friend. One Taro man of importance made a naïve pronouncement on the case. When the sunshine and the rain both came in reasonable quantity the performance of Taro ceremonies was worth while. But when there was a 'big sun' for three months on end, what was to be done? How should they contend against the drought which ruined all their efforts? The ground was hard and hot; the young taro shoots withered and died. At such a season the Taro men might go into recess and wait for better times.

We may briefly discuss the charge of sorcery, which is cognate to doctoring and weather-magic. While the Taro man seems unable to disperse the drought, he is no

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doubt often accused of bringing it on. It is not to be supposed that weather-control belongs exclusively to the exponents of the new cult. It is merely an old-time institution which they have adapted to their own purpose; but this purpose is not always wholly in the public interest. It might probably be said that to the benevolence of magic there is always a reverse or malevolent side—sorcery. The native doctor is believed in because of some secret powers, or some secret methods: directly he uses these for an anti-social end he becomes a sorcerer. It is unnecessary to say that the sorcerer is believed to use his evil powers far more often than he actually attempts to use them: he is a sorcerer more by public opinion than by his own intent. But in this credulity he has the weapon for terrorism and extortion if he care to make use of it. A native doctor is a potential sorcerer: he can strike as well as cure.

Even when he merely refuses to cure he falls under suspicion among his neighbours. It was reported to me that a certain *Baigona* man was refusing to treat a patient. The informant—first brother to the patient—asked that the doctor might be haled before the magistrate and sent to jail. He had every confidence in the skill of the *Baigona* man, and considered it a dastardly thing that he should refuse to treat the dying man. Nowadays it is admitted that *Baigona* was full of sorcery. But the *Baigona* cult is virtually a thing of the past and witnesses will discourse of it with freedom. With regard to the Taro cult they hold their tongues, or guard them. *A priori*, however, there is good reason to suppose that the Taro men do practise a certain amount of sorcery.

One or two positive instances may be given in which the Taro men were apparently guilty of the offence. Quite recently the *Diroga* was brought to the village of Aruruta, where it flourished with true evangelistic vigour. Soon after the magistrate at Ioma was astonished to be confronted by a whole round-up of prisoners from the newly converted Aruruta, brought in by several con-

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edible leaves, and roots gathered in the bush, and will fall back on sago, which is plentiful by the coast but rare in the interior. Though there is sometimes scarcity and a certain amount of hardship, these are never, I believe, very prolonged; and they never approach to genuine famine.

Dry weather, like wet weather, may, when it is inconvenient, be ascribed to the machinations of a sorcerer. If a man go a journey and be overtaken by torrents of rain which compel him to build a bush shelter and wait, he is likely to say, 'My enemy so-and-so must have done this; he knew I wished to travel.' So when the fine weather lasts so long as to become a plague, people will bethink themselves of some sinister old man and say, 'he has made sun medicine and is keeping the bamboo "bottle" in the heat over his fire.' The people of 'Wire Rope' on the river Kumusi had a singular reputation (which they were perhaps careful to maintain) for sun-magic. There are many rain-makers and many methods of rain-making. Where the dry weather is a mere whim of Nature's, they will avail; where it is the result of sorcery, they can do nothing. At any rate the long dry spell is unwelcome weather to the Orokaiva.

Before proceeding to the principal occupation and support of the people, viz. gardening, one may dismiss with a brief mention the other phases of the food quest.

As hunters the Orokaiva are always opportunists. No man travels through the real bush without his spears and his dog, if he possess one. He is extraordinarily alert to detect his game, be it bush-pig, rat, or lizard, and will spare himself no trouble to capture the most insignificant quarry. Communally he hunts with the long net, into which the pig or wallaby is driven through the bush by a semicircle of beaters, while some stand ready behind the net with their spears. The grass plains are burnt off yearly, and yield a variety of game, from pigs and pythons to ground-rats.

The common hunting-traps are (1) *Bagi*, in which the unsuspicious pig, nosing at his bait of sago pith, releases

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that she had cut her thumb off. At that she said, 'Now I am a cuscus,' and ever since the animal has been remarkable for the queer little member which so resembles a truncated human thumb.

Sometimes dying leaves are snipped off the growing plant. In a ceremony of the new 'Taro cult' a band of excited men were pushing their way through the taro gardens, headed by one or two leaders who continually sprayed the plants with medicine from their mouths, and here and there as they passed snapped off large leaves. The reason for this, as the leaders themselves explained the matter, was that, as with a fully grown taro the outer leaves fall, it would expedite this development to anticipate it, and make the leaves fall now.

I do not know of any other kind of trimming or pruning, save sometimes in the interests of tidiness. On the whole garden plants, large and small, are left very much to themselves. Some exception, however, is made in the case of sugar-cane, the long stalks being bound together and supported by poles, lest they fall and so become a prey to rot and rat.

There seem, however, to be few recognized pests in the ordinary sense of the word; the principal enemies of the native horticulturist are not microbes but animals, bats, and birds. He must be constantly on guard against the bush-pig and minor foes—the flying fox, the rat, the wallaby, and the cockatoo, not to mention his fellow man. Formerly, in a kind of native Paradise where work was at a minimum, the bush-pig was content with bush food—roots and herbs and such-like. But exchanging confidences with the rat, he learnt that the latter's food was taro and succulent sugar-cane. After that he invaded the gardens, and it has been necessary ever since to build a fence.

The garden fence should properly surround the whole group of clan gardens. It is built in sections, each man being responsible for the part nearest his own garden. But the work is rather laborious, and the gardens are

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251 flour; no pounded maize; no tapioca. The two latter products, maize and maniota, are very recent introductions; the two former are, in most places, so regular and abundant as not to need preserving.

7. *Garden Magic*

241 789 It would be possible to digress too widely upon the subject of garden magic, but no description of the gardener's methods would be complete without a reference to those processes which in our eyes are magic, but in his are common sense.

We have seen that he has no real knowledge of fertilizing, but nevertheless he makes continual use of magical fertilizers. Into the hole prepared for the taro he may drop a fragment of some leaf before planting. Such leaves, called *ba sivo*, 'taro medicine', are of many and various kinds. There is in fact a particular plant which goes by the name of *Ba-sivo*, but any other leaf which will promote a vigorous growth of the taro is, *ipso facto*, *ba sivo*. The knowledge of some is common property, others are secret; all are of course magical and useless.

The justification for their use, so far as it is made explicit, appears to have resided originally in a point of resemblance. Thus, for instance, one reliable *ba sivo* was said to be *Iori babiva*. This is in fact a strong flourishing plant that grows by the water, much larger and ranker than the taro, but possessing a sufficient resemblance to it in leaf and stalk. It is felt that a fragment of *Iori babiva*, planted together with the taro, will make the latter grow like the former, which the gardener, with more of hope than of reasoned confidence, has set it for a model. So we find the leaf of a large tree like *Boruga* used for *ba sivo*. The idea is not exactly that the taro will 'wax a great tree', but simply that it will grow strongly. A *kai-sivo*, or yam medicine, was, on the same principle—if we can use that word for such a hazy mental association—a certain vigorous trailing plant called *Hupo*.

There is a more elementary form of magic than this

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of the fertilizer. The first component of the magical complex is simply wishing; the second, perhaps, is expressing the wish in speech. Thus we hear the gardener using strange exclamations, imitative and hortatory, as he plants. First, as he drives his pointed digging-stick into the sodden earth he ejaculates or simply mutters, '*sigigigigi* . . . !' with a rapid following on of the syllables which completely baffles the European who tries to imitate. As the same meaningless word is used when the spear sinks into the flank of the pig, it is presumably a sort of onomatope, and meant by the gardener to make easier the sinking of his stick into the ground. When he sometimes says 'Brrrr . . .' it is perhaps with the same vague idea.

As he plants the taro he may apostrophize it: *O ba erejo*, 'Taro arise!' by which he means that the leaves should sprout up quickly; or, *O ba beji*, 'Taro be hungry!' i.e. be greedy and take nourishment from the soil; or *O ba anumbejo*, 'Taro sit!' i.e. let the tuber sit comfortably and firmly in the ground. He will also *Aja ba*, 'Mother taro!' by which he may mean that the plant should be prolific and put forth many offsets, or perhaps simply, as some explain it, 'What a whopper!'

Similarly as he plants sugar-cane he will mutter, '*Porupori poru* . . . !' with the same inimitable rapidity. This is a conventional exclamation and was never explained to me; but as the large bamboo is called *Poru*, it may well enough have meant originally that the stalks of the sugar-cane should grow up like those of the much larger bamboo which they resemble. Again, as he thrusts the cutting into the ground he may be heard making luscious sucking noises between his teeth, 'Sip, sip', and coughing, as if he were already enjoying the sweet juice of the sugar-cane in his own unutterably noisy manner, and half choking himself in his eagerness.

In the old life of the Orokaiva there seem to be no large ceremonies in which the direct idea is that of fertility. There is, however, a strong conviction that

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241 789 769 the spirits of the dead can influence the crops for good or ill. Hence to some extent come the practices of placating the dead with offerings (especially on small platforms, or *barau*, set up in the actual gardens) and of exhorting the dead man just before burial to depart to a good place where there are pigs in plenty and taro in plenty, whence he may send pigs and taro to his surviving friends. Again, for some reason which remains obscure, the garden of the dead man is tabooed to his immediate friends, though it may be used by others. In general it is felt that the spirits of the dead can prosper the gardens or blast them, and it is worth while using all possible tact to avoid the latter alternative.

241 794 769 Within the last few years, however, a movement popularly known as the 'Taro cult' has swept through the whole of the Orokaiva country. As I have dealt with this movement in another report, it will not be necessary to make more than a passing reference to it here. Near the home of the cult, viz. about the mouth of the Mambare, it would seem that the original idea has held its ground: it is a cult of the spirit of the taro. But over the greater part of the Division the new movement has adapted itself in a very significant way to old belief. It is no longer a cult of the taro itself, but of the spirits of the dead who make the taro grow. The ceremonial, although constantly altered in some minor point by local Taro men, who desire merely to go one better than those from whom they have acquired it, has remained substantially the same. It consists especially of the *kasamba* (the singing, to the accompaniment of drums and conches, of songs which are meant to make the taro prosper); of feasting and entertaining with certain formalities and the use of special utensils; of treating the plants with certain medicines; of observing certain food taboos; sometimes of dancing; and always of simulating or surrendering to various kinds of bodily seizures. All these things are supposed to make the taro grow. In the whole cult, which with rare exceptions has been

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adopted by all the Orokaiva, there appears to be hardly any special practice that could in any way benefit the taro crop. Nevertheless, despite certain very undesirable features, the Taro cult does no serious amount of harm to those who practise it in moderation, and may perhaps actually benefit the taro in so far as it causes, if possible, more attention to be paid to the plant and its cultivation.

As there are magical methods used for the benefit of the gardens there are others which may be used, clandestinely, to its detriment. There is a tale of a village whose gardens failed again and again, despite all the industry of the villagers. Discouraged and mystified they decide to leave a small boy to watch for the putative sorcerer. Concealed under a pile of firewood the little spy observes a *sovai*—a devil-devil—decked with leaves and grass come dancing into the garden. He is hideously skinny and ugly, and as he performs his ungainly dance he sings *Utu nauko, kobo nauko, ebu tungako*, 'Like my leg, like my arm, like the neck of a drum', meaning that the taro will be poor and shrivelled, like his own scrawny limbs, or the slender grip of the drum which he beats. This, like most native stories, has a happy ending. The villagers lie in wait, and on his next appearance the *sovai* is seized, dispatched, and cast into a deep water, after which the gardens prosper as they should.

Whenever things go wrong unexplicably the native is prone to impute his misfortunes to a sorcerer. No doubt sorcery is supposed to be practised a hundred times more often than it is really practised. But there is one rather cunning method which may serve as an example of black magic at work in the garden. When a man finds that a thief has been making free with his taro, sugar-cane, or whatever it may be, he will look about for some remains of the stolen food, and then setting upright in the ground a length of springy stick, he will hold this fragment of food against the upper end, and, bending the stick back, shoot it out of the garden as if by means of a catapult. The effect of this is to make the thief a waster,

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a neglector of gardens, to drive him away not only from your garden but from his own. The process is called *batetekari*, 'throwing away the taro', and the word is used not only in the literal sense but for other kinds of sorcery.

8. *Garden Labour*

The Orokaiva words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same—*pure*.[1] It has been frequently pointed out that the garden provides the mainstay of the native's life, and requires the greatest share of what hard work he has to do. A rough compilation made in an Aiga village showed that 48 per cent. of a man's work, 43 per cent. of a woman's, were in the garden. But in this compilation the term 'work' was allowed a very wide connotation, and covered a good deal of what the native would himself hardly call by that name. A stricter definition would have made the proportion much higher.

Part of the work is in the nature of routine—the weeding, the replanting of small batches as the taro is used, the felling of a little extra bush, and so on; part is initial work—the felling of a large area and the planting out of all available *bere*, and the construction of the fence. The larger share of the routine falls to the women; the hardest of the initial work to the men. The rough percentages given above do not indicate of course that women do less work in the gardens than men do. Rather the contrary is the case: the wife's working hours are longer both in the village and out of it.

In native horticulture, as we might expect, the immediate family—a man, his wife or wives, and their children—is a self-sufficing unit. When there are two wives it will be usual for them to work on separate plots of the husband's garden. Girls accompany their mothers to work, from the time when they are carried, as small somnolent balls only visible through the meshes of a string bag, until they are buxom damsels who expect to see admirers peeping at them from the bush. Boys may

[1] Aiga, *pure*; Binandele, *kura*.

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121 754 while he imitates *sotto voce* the blasts of the shell trumpet and the thin wailing of women. These sounds are meant to represent the trumpet which, with distinctive rhythm, will summon the mourners to Gogova's funeral, and the weeping of Gogova's womenfolk. Then he leaves the parcel under the flat stone till the victim shall sicken and die.

This case was recounted to me by an old man—himself a likely sorcerer—in the presence of a number of spectators. There was no secrecy regarding the procedure, but regarding the *saruka*, or magical substance, all the spectators and the old man himself professed complete ignorance. They were all capable of enacting the routine, but none were capable (so they professed) of killing the victim, because they did not know of the necessary specific.

121 789 The above case is one of black magic or sorcery, but the same applies to the innocent magic of everyday life. When the hunter has set up his pig-trap he throws into it some leaf or other—a pig-medicine—and cries, '*Ma, ma!*' (the conventional way of calling pigs in the village), and utters a grunting noise in his throat. These latter, the call and the grunt, are the procedure; the leaf (a more or less close secret) is the specific.

The use of a specific, however, is not invariable. Many of the minor practices which we should call magical are, so to speak, straight-forward magic. There is with them no necessity for any accessory power; no all-important but mysterious ingredient need be added. The magic works of itself. Successful or not it is simply an effort in the direction of the desired result. Such are spells, ejaculations, and gestures. The man who would drive off the rain cries *Wa doio!*'—'Cease rain!'—utters a long-drawn inarticulate cry, and sweeps back the clouds with a wave of his arm. A pig-hunter whispers *Engepu, engepu!*—'Come hither, come hither!'—as he waits in the garden by moonlight; and the little boy, visiting his bird-traps and finding one of them collapsed, says

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Teh, teh!—'Kill, kill!'—in the hopes of finding a dead bird under the wreckage. The villagers hoard their pig-jaws partly as mementoes and trophies, but also, as they sometimes explain, to ensure subsequent success in the hunt. To throw away the jaws where they would be lost to sight in the bush would be in some manner to throw away the hunter's chance of catching pigs. A pregnant woman who desires a male child conceals a mangrove stamen under her bark-cloth skirt. The stamen is said to resemble a penis, and so its influence in the matter of sex-determination is obvious enough. As far as I know the woman uses no other medicine, i.e. no specific, to help the mangrove stamen in its work. A pregnant woman who desires no child at all will slash the skin of a cucumber about its middle, and then slash herself about the middle: the cucumber rots and the woman has a miscarriage. This is only one of the many methods of abortion—old wives' remedies which are really made effective by pummelling and violence. It is not a secret, and in this case, as far as I know, there is no mysterious medicine.

Now it is hard to come by an explanation, a rationale, of his own magic from a native. In so far as set methods have replaced originality in magic the native learns these methods without troubling as to their why and wherefore. Where there is originality the magic is, as we shall see, more impulsive than rational. In either case he does not think the methods out. But sometimes a rather exceptional informant can explain them or give their reasons. And, indeed, to one who sees much of native magic, these methods take on a sort of obviousness. The obviousness, however, the why and wherefore, appertain to the procedure, not to the specific. They stop short at what is really the unknown factor. The man who goes through the whole magical practice may feel tolerably clear as to the significance of the procedure, but he can have only a blind faith in the specific.

Given, therefore, that in what we call native magic

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121 there is always a procedure and sometimes a specific, it would seem that the only factor which the native allows really to puzzle him is the latter. As to the procedure he usually accepts and adopts it on authority; but he sometimes improvises it; and sometimes if he thinks hard he can give a plausible reason for it. At any rate it is to him a natural thing. As to the specific, however, he can probably give no explanation at all; he accepts it as a secret and guards it as one; and as for its powers, they are not natural but supernatural. It would appear, indeed, that originally the same magical explanations might apply to the specific as to the more obvious procedure. But the discovery or the patenting of the specific may have happened long back in the past, and in the course of its transmission from one to another the explanation, such as it was, has been forgotten, and the specific becomes simply an agent of inexplicable powers.

If the native has his own clear-cut category of the magical, it will, I believe, have to be limited to those practices in which the specific plays a part. The others, where the specific is absent, might still be magic to us, but to him they would be common sense. Indeed, it might be said that even where a specific is used the element of the practice which has been called procedure or routine is regarded as common sense, while the magic consists solely in the use of the mysterious medicine.

121 I know of no Orokaiva word which would cover our whole idea of magic, but there are a number of general 189 terms for specific or magical substance, either good or bad, e.g. *sivo* or *kore* for good specifics, *kai*, *inja*, or *saruka* for bad. A sorcerer, *kaiembo* or *injambo*, is one who uses *kai* or *inja*. A merely benevolent magic-maker, a practitioner of white magic, has no distinctive name for the plain reason that the character is universal; every man possesses certain *sivo* and *kore* which are applicable to some department of life. When he uses them he is making magic of the harmless or innocent sort. But when he performs some futile rite without a specific it probably

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seems to him very natural and sensible. There is no appeal to any unknown power; his conduct is straightforward and aims direct at the result. Therefore, he would say, it is not magic.

It will be obvious that we can expect to learn little at present from the specific. It is proposed, therefore, in the next section to examine the magical procedure.

2. *The Procedure of Magic*

One or two further examples will show that Orokaiva magic has many features with which we are familiar. An old woman named Hojavo is reputed to be a rain-maker. At first she maintains her innocence of the charge, but finally yields to many assurances of indemnity and consents to show her magical recipe. First she takes a broad striated leaf of the tree *Gotomo*. (My interpreter points out a resemblance between this leaf and a certain kind of cloud, which I confess myself unable to see with him.) The *Gotomo* leaf is thoroughly crushed and deposited in an earthenware saucepan. Now the old woman takes a section of banana stalk of the kind called *Andoga*. This is especially succulent, and as she breaks and squeezes it in her hands over the pot it sheds a copious rain of drops. Meanwhile she is muttering *Ga bejo, ga bejo!*—'Rain come, rain come!' Then, when she has squeezed the *Andoga* stalk dry, she places it on top of the first leaf and the watery fluid in the pot, and leaves them in her house. For some reason the rain-maker must skulk indoors, not venturing out nor ever looking at the sky until she relents and is ready to unmake her magic. To do this she empties the earthenware pot; she lays out the saturated *Andoga* to dry; she looks into the sky and puffs her breath at it; she blows into her closed fist and then sweeps her open hand across the heavens, crying, *Ga tojo, ga tojo!*—'Rain be finished!'

A group of informants describe a method of causing that enormous distension of the scrotum, known as *bau peni*, which is sometimes seen among the Orokaiva and

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of such emotions, we are in spirit guilty of magic. We do not go so far, perhaps, as to engage in the actual practice of make-believe; we are aware of the folly of the magic of words and deeds, and for the most part avoid them; but, while we may be equally aware of the folly of this incipient magic of thoughts, some of us at least are very prone to indulge in it.

The mere hope or wish is in itself regarded as magically potent by the native: you have reason to fear an ill-disposed neighbour simply because he wishes you ill success. When a man has two wives it is, I am told, not uncommon for the less favoured to practise *gose*, or the 'evil wish' against him. If he returns from the hunt with a wallaby and gives it all to his favourite, the fury of the scorned woman finds satisfaction in *gose*. She says to herself, 'Very well, next time he hunts he will waste his time'. When the unlucky bigamist returns empty-handed and angry he is prone to suspect one or other of his wives, and they are likewise prone to mutual accusations, true or trumped-up, so that the affair may end in high words or even blows.

The evil wish may be transmitted by a look—the 'evil eye'. It is said that *Baigona* men had simply to fix an eye on their intended victims and the sickness would follow.[1] An enemy need only cast a malicious glance at one who was going out to hunt and there would be no catch that day. This is the reason why it is advisable to sneak out of the village quietly when you mean to hunt alone.

Another stage in the indulgence of this false hope or wish comes when we utter it aloud in the spell or the apostrophe. When a man wants rain he cries, 'Rain come!'; when he wants it to cease he cries, 'Rain, rain, go away!' As he plants the taro he cries, *O ba anumbe jo!*—'Taro, sit tight!' (i.e. take root), or *Ba erejo!*—'Taro

[1] There may be in this more than elementary magic, for these *Baigona* sorcerers employed snake-spirits, or perhaps the spirits of the dead in snake-form to do their mischief.

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arise!' Such exhortations are numberless. With the Orokaiva, I believe, they are mainly spontaneous; set magical formulae, if they exist, are uncommon. It is simply a matter of putting what you wish into words, though you may have no good reason to expect a fulfilment of the wish. To see how common is this elementary form of magic among ourselves we need only observe the barrackers at a football match or the punters on a race-course.

I know of very few *set* or conventional spells among the Orokaiva, although they may exist in greater number than I am aware of. However, I have often enough heard a man saying aloud what he wants, and it may fairly be maintained that all spells are originally rather straightforward statements of some desire. By putting your wish into words you bring it nearer, give yourself a false confidence by adopting a confident tone, and give your hope a premature realization by stating it as a fact. The unintelligible spell (which I believe to be rare among the Orokaiva) may develop or rather degenerate from the intelligible spell, i.e. from the statement of a wish or hope. Primitives are so prone to accept the form of any practice and neglect its meaning that they might readily take over the actual words of the spell while they failed to grasp the content. The words, repeated without regard to their meaning, become meaningless, the spell is misapplied, and so we get gibberish and abracadabra.

The best example of such a process which the Orokaiva can supply is that of the songs of the Taro cult. It seems probable that these were in the first instance addressed to the taro plant itself, or the spirit (*atiti*) of the plant, and were in the nature of apostrophes or exhortations. This character is still recognizable in them, and one may hear the singers repeating again and again the names of various taro varieties. But they are commonly incapable of interpreting the other words of the songs. These have become little more than nonsense syllables, though the function

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of the Taro songs remains unchanged; they are still meant to make the taro grow.[1]

[The transition from spell to prayer has hardly shown itself among the Orokaiva. It occurs when some higher personal power is called upon to aid in effecting the desire of which the spell is primarily no more than a statement. Still, one might say that the spell and the prayer have the same justification in psychology. By putting our hope into words they strengthen it, though the prayer does so far more effectively by virtue of its appeal to a higher power in which we repose a very comfortable faith. It would be necessary to devote more attention to this subject if we had to discuss how a belief in superior personal powers may influence Orokaiva conduct. For the present, however, it may be dismissed with the remark that Orokaiva magic makes a relatively small appeal to any such powers.]

Another stage is reached when we begin to play-act the desired result. Either by voice, by gesture, or by some symbolic action or contrivance, we are now giving a presentation of the effect we have in mind. We have seen the sorcerer imitating the funeral conch and the wailing of the women, or groaning and exclaiming, writhing and shivering, as he hopes his victim may. We have seen the owner of the pig-trap grunting when he visits it. We might hear the gardener as he plants the slip of sugar-cane make sucking noises and cough as if he were already choking with the sweet juice of the matured plant.

Such procedures do seem to be commended by a certain reasonableness. While remaining unconvinced one does not need to be a leech or a necromancer to see the point. There are, however, certain set forms of procedure in which the point is less obvious. I may refer to three which have frequently come to my notice: they are all methods of black magic.

First there is the use of heat. This is perhaps the commonest method employed by the sorcerer for the in-

[1] Vide Taro Cult, p. 39.

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direct affliction of his victim. When he has prepared the magical concoction with its various ingredients—representative of the victim and of the kind of suffering which is destined for him—he will ram them into a bamboo internode, stopper it with beeswax or a plug of leaves, and leave it suspended from his roof-tree over the fire. Here in the dark privacy of his house it will slowly bake and wither in the ascending smoke, just as the large *Okari* nuts or a joint of wallaby are dried for preserving. By now the victim is 'become like a bottle in the smoke'. As the heat increases by the occasional brightening-up of the fire, so his discomfort will increase with it. Should the fastening give way and the bamboo fall into the flames, the sufferer would, I have been told, incontinently die. But the sorcerer wishes rather to keep his victim on the rack, to prolong his suffering until his friends are ready to make representations to the oppressor. Then if he be not utterly implacable he will relent, remove the bamboo from over the fire, and throw it into the cooling and neutralizing stream of water.

The supposed efficacy of this heating method rests, one may suggest, on the ordinary symptoms of bodily heat or fever in the patient. Whether he complains of such heat or no, the burning skin of a native who is really feverish is sufficient indication of his condition to an outside observer; and to heat the magical substances which are in some way or other associated with him has the obvious effect of raising his temperature.

However, this use of heat has become a recognized magical method, and in some instances it is not easy to detect even a semblance of reason in it. Indeed, I have a case of cold-magic, in which a certain old man was accused of bringing on a spell of disagreeably chilly weather, and it transpires that he adopted the apparently illogical procedure of suspending his cold-making mixture over the heat of the fire. It seems somewhat out of keeping with magical principles (if such a word is permissible) to make cold-magic by means of heat. In the

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more usual cases of sun-magic, where a man is charged with causing a drought, it seems natural enough to employ this agency. We may suppose that it has become a set method and may therefore be employed without any thought as to its fitness for any special branch of activity.

A second agency regularly used by the sorcerer is that of weight or pressure. In the example given on pp. 173–4 we saw that the magician, after preparing his mixture, sat on it and even rocked his body to and fro in order to squash it the more effectively. Another method is to bury the mixture under a heavy stone which will exert just that gradual and unremitting pressure which suits the mood of the torturer. When a magical mixture is first concocted and stowed perhaps in the favourite receptacle, an internode of bamboo, the sorcerer will allow it to fall from his hand to the ground, or may throw it aloft and see it drop. If it meets the ground with a satisfactory thud, then it is assumed to have the requisite quality of weightiness; if it fall lightly he may bind it to a stone in order to make good the deficiency. Then, perhaps, he will bury it beneath his own mat, so that as he sits in his accustomed place he does so in the comfortable enjoyment of crushing his enemy.

The explanation of this method is similar, I believe, to that of the one just described, in which the agency of heat is employed. It is very common for an ailing native to say that he feels 'heavy' in part or the whole of his anatomy. The word, indeed, describes well enough the weakness or lassitude and the absence of sensations of energy which are common symptoms of tropical illness. It is just the weight of certain creatures, such as the crocodile, which constitutes the stated reason why they are sometimes tabooed to the doctor. If, I have been asked, the physician eats anything so heavy, how can he expect to banish the heaviness of the sick? Examining the varied contents of a man's *betava*—the string bag in which he carries the small indispensables of life—I once came upon a lump of very light pulpy wood, resembling

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cork, but even lighter. Its owner professed, whether truly or not, that he was in the habit of nibbling it, and made it clear that its very quality of lightness guarded him against possible sorcery. It was in fact an antidote or prophylactic. It seems feasible then that the original motive for weighing heavily upon the magical mixture was to induce the leaden feelings of illness in the destined victim.

The third of these set methods to which I am referring is that of throwing away the magical mixture. This is apparently not so common as the two above described. It is practised typically in the minor kind of sorcery called *ba-tetekari*, or 'throwing away the taro'. This expression, which has acquired a wider application, originally belongs to a particular kind of magic practised in the garden. It is unfortunately a common experience of the Orokaiva gardener to find that the fruits of his cultivation have been devoured in his absence by a thieving stranger. The only traces of the theft are the remains of the stolen goods—a few coco-nut husks, taro leaves, or the mangled stalks of sugar-cane. There is no clue to the identity of the thief, so the indignant owner must forgo the satisfaction of knowing upon whom his vengeance is to fall. However, he takes some left-over fragment—perhaps a piece of chewed sugar-cane which the marauder has unwarily failed to conceal. Then planting a strong resilient stick upright in the ground, he holds the fragment against the upper end, bends the stick back, and lets go. The chewed sugar-cane is catapulted out of the garden into the bush, and the man who chewed it becomes a *pure-hambo*, literally a non-worker, one who neglects his own garden. The effect of *ba-tetekari* would appear to be psychological. The victim of it becomes a waster and a ne'er-do-well, not only in his garden but in all his other activities. As a hunter, for example, he is unobservant and a laggard. I am not clear as to the scope of the phrase *ba-tetekari*. Its literal meaning—said to be 'throwing away the taro'—has been explained; but it appears to stand for any black magic of a minor or less deadly

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754 789 character, and is applicable to many processes besides the one described above.

While I have dealt at some length with these three set methods of heat, pressure, and throwing away, it is not to be supposed that one or other of them is invariably employed in the black-magical procedure. There is some originality and much variety. For summary it may be said that at the stage in which magic is truly original and spontaneous the essence of it would appear to be that the hoped-for result is anticipated, that it is represented as already happening in the imagination. It has been suggested that the ground-work of magic is the wish or the groundless hope. When we begin to indulge this wish or hope we are in the mood to practise magic. From hoping in silence we pass on to another stage and express our hope in words; we utter spells and adjurations. If we call upon some higher personal power, we pray—which some will affirm and many deny is magic-making. From merely saying what we want to happen, we come to acting as if it were happening. We make everything pan out according to our desires. But this panning-out is so far only in imagination, and to give it a semblance of reality we play-act the desired result. Thus our hopes are for the time-being fulfilled, and whatever emotions are driving us on find temporary satisfaction, albeit only imaginary. This is the reason why the hunter grunts when he visits his pig-trap, and why the sorcerer writhes as if in agony while he prepares his medicines against his enemy.

Be it understood, by the way, that this sequence—from mere hoping to expressing the hope in words, and thence to a mock fulfilment of the hope in action—is not intended for an evolutionary series, but is only adopted for convenience of exposition. It would be impossible to prove that the spell was always and everywhere antecedent to the action of magic. Nor is this of any consequence to the argument. It might well enough be the other way about. Certain it is, at any rate, that the verbal

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has survived the manual kind of magic with ourselves; though that is perhaps merely because the former is more insidious.

It will, I think, be necessary for an understanding of native magic to admit freely that, if we do not practise magic ourselves, we at least feel the temptation to do so. If magic be founded on emotion it is impulsive before it can affect to be rational. The rational aspect of it we shall have to discuss later. In the meantime we may admit that in so far as it is impulsive it is natural, and most of us, wittingly or unwittingly, yield sometimes to the impulse. Reason and education exert an inhibitory influence upon us in this respect. They have apparently suppressed most of the manual rites and many of the spoken words of magic, and have left us with little more than its fond hopes and fantasies. But a little more twentieth-century education and some of the everyday actions which we perform with so much intellectual self-righteousness may turn into magic before our eyes, and one after another we shall have to banish from the category of common sense all those practices and theories in which the wish is father to the thought.

3. *The Magical Symbol*

In so far as it is impulsive and not yet rational the magical procedure is a premature fulfilment of hope and satisfaction of emotion. These ends are secured by a representation of the desired result, and we may next inquire how this representation is given sufficient of reality to satisfy. It will be obvious that a sorcerer would find the real thorough-going satisfaction of his wish if he could with impunity roast his victim actually over the fire or crush his life out under a stone. But there are many reasons why he cannot do this in actuality. Such a proceeding is impossible under the social system even of the Orokaiva or of any equally primitive people. He therefore roasts or squashes his enemy in imagination, and to add a touch of realism will go through the form

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000 of roasting or squashing him in some symbolic guise. It is not necessary to burn him like Guy Fawkes in a life-size effigy. Anything, however small and insignificant, that will serve to typify the victim will serve also as an object upon which the emotion of the sorcerer may spend itself. In the manual procedure of magic, which is in origin a representation of the hoped-for result, the importance of such symbols will be evident, and we may devote some attention to them. In fact the concept of spontaneous magic which we have so far formed may be more clearly expressed as ' the *symbolic* representation of a hoped-for result'. The real subjects and objects which would participate in the hoped-for result are represented by symbols in the imaginary forecast. And this forecast may appear very fragmentary, simply reproducing one or two salient factors. Furthermore, the association which justifies the symbol may be astonishingly remote.

811 An example will show how flimsy may be the structure
•789 of the magical representation. There was a youth of
845 Wasida who paid court to a girl of the neighbourhood but was rejected in favour of a rival. The young man did not accept his disappointment as a philosopher should, but determined to bide his time and be revenged. Now there is a certain blue berry in the bush which is remarkable for the fact that it grows always two by two together. The disappointed suitor secretly obtained a pair of these twin berries, crushed them together with some lime, and decorated his face with the resultant pigment—a stripe on either cheek. Now he makes it his business to encounter the girl (who is by this time securely married to the other party). All unsuspecting she looks at his face and observes the two streaks of paint. Nothing is said, but the young man, satisfied with the mere glance, retires to the seclusion of the bush, scrapes the berry pigment off his cheeks, wraps it in a leaf, and stuffs it into a hole in one of the large bulging ants' nests called *siribo*. Now secure of his revenge he watches the young wife. He observes with satisfaction the gradual and finally

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tremendous swelling of her figure. Her time comes, and, to her untold chagrin and his untold gratification, she is delivered of twins. His vengeance is complete.

In this case we may recognize at least two symbols, the twin berries standing for the twins, and the bulging *siribo* for the aggravated tumescence of the woman's pregnancy. In both of them, it would appear, their symbolic character rests upon a point of resemblance. The association is one of similarity, and the symbol might be called for short a Similarity Symbol. This is by no means to assume that the native attaches any causal value to the association, or that he is even conscious of it. Least of all can he be conscious of 'association' in the abstract. Indeed, it is only when he is taxed for an explanation that he may fall back on the Law of Similarity. In the case just cited it may well be that the whole process is an *ex post facto* fabrication. (This is more likely than the other possibility, viz. that it was a marvellous fluke.) But whether the process was ever really tried or not, it will serve to illustrate the nature of the Similarity Symbol.

Of such association there are innumerable examples. The hibiscus was a component of a mixture used in hunting-magic because, I was told, its scarlet was like the fresh blood of the pig. The root of a variety of bread-fruit was used in sun-magic because it resembled the sun simply in its red-yellow colour. The crab's claw was a suitable receptacle for the sorcerer's mixture in that it would cause the victim to crawl and grovel like a crab. Mere size is itself sufficient to make a symbol of any object where size is the quality aimed at in the desired result. This, according to native explanation, is the reason why the leaf of a towering *Boruga* tree may be planted in the same hole with the taro shoot: the taro will become a big plant because the *Boruga* is a big tree. The same reason was given for the use of *Jijuma* and *Buru* as medicines for the growing pig. A woman may be seen washing a squealing piglet with an infusion of the leaves of these

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789 811 two trees. It would seem that it is no more than the quality of bigness which they possess in common with the gigantic pig of the woman's fancy that justifies their use. Whether it was merely their size which in the first place recommended the trees *Boruga*, *Jijuma*, and *Buru* for their various magical uses I am unable to say. There may well enough have been some other more recondite quality which occurred to the man who first used them, and which has been forgotten since they became, so to speak, stock medicines. However, it is sufficient that informants should make this suggestion, viz. as to size, to show how their thoughts run. With some of the magical fertilizers of which I have spoken in Report No. 7, the resemblance is patent enough to require no explanation: instance the use of a vigorous vine as a yam medicine, or a rank river-bank plant with a somewhat elongated heart-shaped leaf as a medicine for taro.

789 754 811 Another association by virtue of which an object may assume the role of a symbol is that, generally speaking, of contact. As we have used the expression Similarity Symbol for those symbols which are based on association by similarity, so we might use the expression Contact Symbol for those which are based on association by contact or contiguity. If the magician can come by a part of the object or person upon whom he has designs, he will derive an anticipatory satisfaction from putting those designs into effect upon the part in lieu of the whole. If he cannot obtain an actual part of such object or person he will make do with something which has been closely associated. In the case of a human victim, e.g., it will be sufficient to obtain a piece of his hair, or one of those red-dyed streamers of areca spathe that the Orokaiva fastens to the tags of his greasy coiffure. It will be sufficient to obtain a tattered fragment of his bark-cloth perineal band, or a scraping of the dirt and sweat which is sometimes present in very available quantity on his skin. A most satisfactory medium is the victim's semen, which, it is said, can commonly be obtained from a

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female betrayer. Any such object or substance which has been in close association with or has belonged to the victim will serve to personify him, as it were, when the sorcerer wishes to work off his feelings.

Anything, indeed, which he has merely touched will suffice. A very common example of the magician's symbol consists of a morsel of food left over by his prospective victim—the remains of a betel-nut, for instance, or even the husk. It is for this reason that native travellers will always dispose so carefully of the remnants of their food. In their own village it does not matter over-much, because it is inhabited by familiar friends from whom they have little to fear; but in a strange village who knows how many sorcerers there may be awaiting their chance? I have watched a party of coastal carriers after a midday meal in an inland village. They had roasted some yams in the open fire and in the usual way scraped off the charred surface before eating them. Before leaving they went so far as to stamp these minute black scrapings thoroughly into the dust, and when questioned about it made no secret of their apprehensions. It is the same motive—not that of tidiness, as one was tempted to think—which sometimes makes carriers in a strange village throw their coco-nut husks into the surrounding bush for concealment, or better still into the running water for neutralization. Again, when working in his garden a man will keep a watchful eye on his *betava*, or string bag, for fear that while his back is turned an enemy should abstract some small belonging on which to work magic against him.

There is a somewhat different style of magic in which the necessity for contact is still apparent, but which it is not easy to include in the same category with the above. In this style the magical mixture is prepared first independently of the victim, and is then brought into contact with him. Sometimes such a mixture may be kept in a bamboo 'bottle'. When it is called into use the sorcerer creeps on his victim in his sleep, dips a

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789 754 feather in the mixture, and lightly touches the sleeper's skin or moistens his lips with it. It might seem as if actual poisons were used in this manner; but this very doubtful subject will be discussed later. The somewhat far-fetched methods of effecting the necessary contact may well throw a doubt upon it. It is, for instance, only necessary in some cases to set the magically potent stuff on the track where the victim is sure to walk over it. Another trick is to make up some medicine together with tobacco in a cigarette. If a youth were exasperated with the coyness of a maiden he might take some *Ese* leaf (why this should be specially efficacious was not made clear), dry it in the sun and then roll it together with some native tobacco in a cigarette. According to the native fashion he would offer this to the girl, who after a sociable puff or two would hand it back. The boy is careful to keep the butt of the cigarette, for he now has what is virtually a symbol upon which to work further magic. The further magic is incidentally worth recording. He ties the cigarette butt to a stick, pokes it into a nest of black ants—a lively and ferocious kind—and leaves it there. If she does not yield readily to his importunity he will go to the ants' nest and worry them with the stick. The ants bite the stick and (if I may record the explanation) it is as if they were biting the girl's stomach. The resultant irritation soon brings her round to the boy's way of thinking.

In this example we may see both styles of contact magic. First the potent medicine *Ese* (whatever may be the basis of its potency) is brought into contact with the girl; second, the cigarette, a contact symbol, is subjected to further treatment of a purely symbolic nature. In those cases where a magical mixture is brought into contact with the person upon whom magic is to be made, such person is being dealt with, not symbolically, but in a sense directly. Where we obtain some object closely associated with this person and make magic upon that, then we are using a symbol. In the latter case (which

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represents the more usual Orokaiva fashion) it is as if we should pour a dose of cough medicine into a man's hat in the hopes of curing him. In the former and less usual case it is as if we should pour it down his throat, or with equal assurance down his back.

It is perhaps possible that all the symbols of magical procedure should be comprised in these two categories without stretching them too widely, i.e. they might be classified as Similarity Symbols and Contact Symbols, which correspond with Frazer's laws of Homoeopathic Magic and Contagious Magic. But it must be remembered that any kind of association, sometimes a strangely remote one, may invest an object with a symbolic character. I may give a few final examples to show how faint the association may be.

The use of tree-leaves is very characteristic of Orokaiva magic. They very often play the part of the specific, i.e. the medicine proper, the really potent but still inscrutable factor; but very often too their symbolic properties can be explained. A witness drew my attention to the damp, cold feel of a certain leaf used in the making of wet weather. Another leaf was used by a magician who had power to calm the seas. He would cry out to the waves to die down and cast into the water a leaf of the *Ombi* tree. The efficacy of that particular leaf lay in the fact that it wilted within a few moments of being plucked. There were two cold-weather medicines (not, I believe, widely known). One was called *Ino-etu*, or 'Dog-tail', and the virtue of *Ino-etu* was merely in its name. For is not the dog, with its shivering and crouching by the fire, peculiarly sensible of the cold? The other was the delicate leaf *Kigira* which partly closes toward sunset as if it were shrinking or huddling itself up from the cold of evening. *Kigira*, by the way, was used elsewhere for quite another purpose. The same trait, viz. of closing at dusk, travelling in another associative channel, made the plant a useful soporific for babies, because it appeared to sleep as babies should sleep. The plant picturesquely

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named *Sovai-gapu*, or 'Ghost-wings', was recommended by the same property for the same purpose.

Perhaps the best example is provided by the ill-defined Orokaiva custom which resembles the *couvade*. Very often a husband, after the birth of his child, will avoid working in the garden. The reason is perhaps his fear of a misadventure which might in some vicarious manner affect the child; and two independent informants have given me the same curious explanation. In clearing the gardener would lay hold of the tender sapling and, as he raised his sharp axe to strike a severing blow, there would flash through his mind a horrifying simile—the neck of his new-born child. No wonder a solicitous father should stay at home!

So much for the symbols in magical procedure. They have been classified, after the laws laid down by Frazer, into Similarity Symbols and Contact Symbols. A much more detailed classification would be possible but perhaps unnecessary. The essential fact is that any association, even the remotest, may be sufficient to turn an object into a symbol, to make it personify or represent some person or object or, generally speaking, some factor in the result at which the magic-maker aims.

4. *The Logic of Magic*

It has been assumed throughout the foregoing pages that magic is in the beginning a matter of impulse. But it is a fact beyond dispute that the native practitioner does to some extent at any rate believe in his magic. It may not be correct to say that there is a universal primitive belief that 'like produces like', or that 'things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed'. However, it is at least true that the magic-maker commonly feels that his procedure, an anticipatory representation of the result he aims at, does in some way conduce toward the realization of that result.

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5. *The Magical Specific*

789 So far we have discussed the more or less straightforward routine or procedure of magic, and in the last few pages the ways in which such procedure may pass from purely impulsive to pseudo-rational. In section 1 a distinction was drawn between the procedure and the specific, i.e. the mysterious substance which in some way made the procedure effective. While it was pointed out that in many of the practices which we call magical there was no apparent trace of such specific, yet in others it played an essential part. In these latter practices, it would appear, the procedure itself is not sufficient to satisfy; it does not give adequate guarantee of success. Therefore the practitioner has recourse to a supernatural factor; he calls in the specific, a substance or object possessing a potency which he does not understand, but on which he sets his faith. When he has introduced this factor the whole magical practice takes on a definitely causal character. The specific may be said to reinforce the procedure, to put some kick into it, in fact to turn it from what is half play into what is real earnest. This, then, is the last and perhaps the most important means by which the practitioner comes to believe in his own magic. Several examples have already been given in which the procedure and the specific are readily distinguishable. I may give one or two more to show how definite is the distinction in the native mind.

It is a very common experience in questioning natives on these matters to find that all, whether young or old, are thoroughly acquainted with the procedure, i.e. the actual methods which should be employed for any particular purpose of magic. But it is equally common to find them all declare that they are unable to effect that purpose. The reason is, as they will explain, that they do not know the real secret of the matter: they do not know the specific.

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789 A certain old man named Mendeambo has the reputation of a rain-maker. Although such reputation is what we should call a shady one, Mendeambo does not deny it. Indeed, he accepts and acts up to the part which is often, perhaps, thrust upon him. However, he possesses the knowledge of a specific which he is careful to keep secret from all save a favoured few. This, if we may believe him, he received from his father. He agrees to show it to me only on condition that the rest of the villagers remain behind. Then he sets off down the track, peering into the bush on either side, and has walked half a mile before he discovers what he requires, viz. a certain creeper with a broad, somewhat fleshy leaf. The procedure is quite intelligible. He folds the leaf into a cup-shape or cone, and, holding it up to the sun, makes a tweeting noise between his lips and teeth which is meant figuratively to entice the sun into the receptacle. Then he folds it up, binds it tightly about, and hides it in a damp place under an old moss-grown log. To annul his magic he simply brings out the leaf and spreads it in some exposed place where it will be open to wind and sunshine, and cries,

Ga beau-tojo, Iji puvoroi!
'Rain be finished, Sun come forth!'

But this procedure is not the secret. It is the sort of thing that to a native mind would be obvious. The secret is the leaf. Only this leaf, according to Mendeambo, will do the trick.

Another obliging magician agreed to show me his specifics for cold-weather magic. The demonstration took place on the track some distance out of the village. The requisite leaves do not need much looking for, since most of the countless varieties in the tropical bush are near at hand, but the point of importance is that the uninitiated do not know which variety has specific value for cold weather. When any passers-by appeared the leaves were hastily thrust out of view.

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789 A hunting magician on the river Gira, one of the class known as *wo-embo*, or 'animal men' (simply because their profession is to hunt animals, or ensure the successful hunting of animals), demonstrated his methods and revealed his specific. The demonstration took place before a large and interested audience of villagers, who were all, however, familiar with what they saw. But the revelation of the specific was a private matter, made under pledge of the strictest secrecy. The *wo-embo* retired into the bush alone, whence he shortly reappeared with the magic leaves done up in a parcel of larger leaves, the latter of entirely neutral quality and intended only for concealment. It was necessary to resist the importunity of an inquisitive shooting-boy who was anxious to obtain the specific for his own future use in shooting pigeons, and finally to lock it in a box for security against the examination which he evidently meant to make if the opportunity offered.

In such specifics—which very commonly take the simple form of leaves—there is an unknown, and in fact a supernatural potency. The plain routine of magic is sometimes not sufficient. The magic-maker, intent on his purpose and secretly feeding his hopes, calls in some assistance, a final factor on which he can fix his trust although he cannot tell how it works. It is comparable with the elixir, the charm, the talisman, the magic ring; it may be some meaningless spell or Open Sesame. With the Orokaiva it is not so often a word, but usually a substance; and it is most commonly a mere leaf or herb.

As in certain chemical experiments everything may be set in readiness but nothing happen until that mysterious agent, the catalytic, be introduced, so in the magical process the plain routine may go forward without effect unless some super-normal substance, the specific, be brought to bear upon it. Every essential element in the hoped-for result may be represented, the victim may be identified beyond error, the form of his suffering may be unmistakably symbolized. But the effect may not

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follow until the potent substance, the specific, is added. Then, like the catalytic which mysteriously sets in motion the chemical action, the specific sets in motion the magical process. From mere half-playful representation the procedure turns into a certainty.

For these specifics we have several general names which have been mentioned already. *Sivo* (or *siwo*) and *kore* stand for those specifics which are used for reputable purposes—for curing, for fishing, for hunting, for love-making and so forth. *Kai*, *inja*, and *saruka* are evil specifics used in black magic, i.e. for any illicit or anti-social end. There are few who would ever reveal a knowledge of these latter substances; few, I believe, who would even admit such a knowledge. They are essentially secrets belonging to individuals, families, or small cliques, and are handed on by one man to another, to some close friend who is probably also a close relative. But it is not so much their secret character as their mysterious character which is the matter of real importance. The essential feature of the specific is that it is inscrutable, that its potency is a matter of mystery to the man who employs it. It is not only as if the patient should swallow his physic in trusting ignorance of the way it worked; it is as if the physician himself should throw some extra ingredient into his prescription with the same ignorance and the same merely implicit confidence.

The specific usually has nothing either logical or empirical to recommend it. It is taken on trust from some previous practitioner. It is in the nature of a 'good tip'. And yet it seems probable that the specific, which now is accepted without inquiry, would in the first place have admitted of the same rationale as any of the symbols used in the procedure of magic. It was probably itself a symbol which some associative link, some point of resemblance or the mere virtue of contiguity, rendered suitable as a factor in the magical procedure. In course of time, however, as the use of this particular symbol is transmitted from one to another, all trace of explanation is

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789 lost: the specific retains its power, but none can tell how. If any one is able to offer an explanation it is probably, as so often with natives, merely some extempore flash of imagination, which may be wholly different from the original explanation and wholly different from what another bright native might suggest.

789 773 811 An incident will show how easily such a change from symbol to specific (whether we call it degeneration or sublimation) might come about. On the upper Gira is a large mass of rocks scored with curious grooves. These grooves are ascribed to the man-monster Totoima, who used to sharpen his teeth on the rocks as a man sharpens his axe on a stone. Totoima was famous as a hunter of men, and accordingly any medicine obtained from the neighbourhood of one of his many teeth-sharpening places will be recommended, by association with the hunter, as a medicine for dogs: it will improve their pig-hunting. This association was made explicit by more than one informant. 789 811 Now there grows along the upper margin of these rocks a rare profusion of ground-orchids, among them one with a dark purple flower and (what is the significant attribute) a pale-coloured and peculiarly furry leaf. This orchid was the secret of an old man of the district who was conducting us over the historic ground. When I collected a handful of flowers which happened to show his particular variety too prominently on the outside, the old man shook his head in protest and requested me to rearrange the bouquet and make his dog-medicine rather less conspicuous. But he went so far as to confide the secret to my interpreter and factotum, one Ihipa. One should crush the leaves and make an infusion; wash the young dog and pull its limbs to make it grow quickly. He pointed to those minute white hairs with which the leaf is covered. Did they not call to mind the coat of a dog? This feature, combined with the locality association, was sufficient to make that little orchid leaf a strong dog-medicine.

Having become acquainted with the secret of the plant

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Ihipa took care to provide himself with a number of bulbs, intending to plant them in his own distant country. Presuming the plant flourishes it will be used by Ihipa according to his instructions. He will impart the secret to his nearest friends. The leaves will retain their supposed power, but it will be readily imagined that the explanation will in time be forgotten. The hairy coat of the leaf will not suggest the hairy coat of the dog unless there is always some one to point out the resemblance. And the association with the man-hunter Totoima will probably be lost sight of when once the plant has been removed from the site of Totoima's activities.

It is impossible to be sure of the reason for the use of any particular specific in the first instance; but it is equally impossible to believe that specifics originated in a causeless or haphazard manner. We can only suggest some original association or analogy which may or may not be the true one. However, it seems probable that some such associative link did in the first instance give a pseudological justification for the use of the leaf (or other object). The object was in the first instance really a symbol. In course of time the symbolism was obliterated from memory and the symbol became a specific.

While the hypothesis may cover most instances it does not necessarily cover all. We may discuss the two words *inja* and *saruka*, both of them standing for any kind of evil specific. Of the third familiar word with the same meaning, viz. *kai*, I have never heard any explanation, but it appears that *inja* is the name of a particular kind of bush vine, and *saruka* that of a tree with a highly odoriferous bark. They were both apparently typical specifics and their names have been applied to the general category of evil specifics. If a man were done to death by the use of the actual vine *inja* this fact would be recognizable from the fact that at death he would be speechless. His entrails would be strangled or tied up (*tigari*) within him as if by the strands of creeper, and it appears that he would die in a kind of intestinal cramp. This is probably

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789 192 824 754 one of those extemporized explanations which, however far from the original truth of the matter, are nevertheless illustrative of native habits of thought. It squares well enough with our hypothesis that the specific is originally a symbol. The creeper—a native's ever-ready twine or rope—is the very thing to tie the victim's entrails in a knot.

Regarding the *saruka* there was no adequate explanation forthcoming, the only point being that the victim would be able to speak as he was about to draw his final breath and would therefore be able to name the sorcerer who had brought him to that unhappy pass. But the fact that the *saruka* has a stinking bark suggests that a substance might be used originally as an evil specific simply by reason of its unpleasant properties, and with none but the very slightest trace of symbolism. There may be some substances regarded as inherently noxious which it is only necessary to bring into contact with the intended victim in order to do him an injury. We have already seen how this can be done (pp. 191–3). It is quite another question whether from our point of view such substances are really harmful, that is to say, whether the native knows and makes use of any real poisons, and this may be deferred until the next section.

789 Dismissing this minor question we may consider the psychological justification for the use of the specific, i.e. for the agent of inexplicable powers which makes the mere procedure effective. If the procedure be based on hope, if it be in its merely impulsive stage no more than an imaginary fulfilment of a desire, then any assistance will be welcomed. If the assistance be that of an unknown quantity, possessing a fund of power or *mana* of an unknown extent, then it is all the more likely to be made an object of confidence. The confidence is essentially implicit, both in the sense that it is unreasoned and in the sense that it is complete. The magic-maker, who may have small faith in his more or less elaborate procedure, thrusts the responsibility on to the unknown and rests secure in his confidence of the outcome.

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The specific may be in itself a very harmless ordinary object, but it has a supernatural potency. In discussing the reliance of the magic-maker upon the unknown and the supernatural we find ourselves approaching a somewhat different region of magic, viz. the kind of magic which acts through the medium of supernatural agencies of a personal character. It is only for strict definition to decide whether we have already stepped over the borderline which separates magical from religious phenomena, or whether we must wait till we detect a supplicatory attitude before we are entitled to use the latter term. At any rate this kind of magic, in which supernatural agencies of a personal nature are employed, is of comparatively rare occurrence among the Orokaiva.

Where it does occur it seems that we might almost bring it into line with the sort of magic we have been discussing, save that for the implicit appeal to the specific there is substituted a direct appeal to some supernatural agent of a personal, i.e. a spiritual, character. In some cases the procedure may be perfected and over and above it all the magic-maker may appeal to some spirit as an extra safeguard of success, just as he employs the impersonal but mysteriously potent specific. Thus we hear of a man who has made cold-weather magic with the customary symbolism and has the mixture ready in a bamboo 'bottle'. But then he would shake the bottle and say, 'Go on, go on, burn down the house of my enemy!' The predestined victim piles on fuel incautiously against the cold, the fire flares up, his house catches light and is burnt to the ground. The exhortations of the sorcerer were addressed, as I was told, not to his mixture in the 'bottle', but to the *sovai*, or ghost, of the man whom he was avenging. And this man, who had been speared by the owner of the burnt house, was thus enlisted to compass his own revenge.

Magic through the medium of spiritual agency seems to be the special province of the *Baigona* men and the Taro men, i.e. the exponents of the two cults which have

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789 754 775 at different times acquired a great vogue among the Orokaiva. The *Baigona* men were visited by the spirits of the dead, and had dealings with them particularly in that reptilian form which the dead frequently take in Orokaiva theory. It was only necessary for the *Baigona* man to look at or name his victim, and the spirit who was in league with him would in some hardly understood manner effect the damage. Similarly the Taro men could punish any who gave them offence by means of the spirit of the dead (or in some cases the spirit of the taro itself) by which they were possessed. The followers of *Diroga*, a variant of the Taro cult, could figuratively 'spear' their enemies. The spears were emblems or personifications of slain warriors, and it was only necessary for the *Diroga* man to adjure his spear to go forth and strike, and the victim would be down with an illness.

Such cases as these represent a phase of occult practice which is somewhat apart from the subject under debate. I have no very definite information upon it, and this is in no small degree due to the fact that native ideas are themselves more than a little vague. The spirits of the dead are made the objects of many emotions, but perhaps predominantly of fear. Of themselves they can prosper their surviving relatives or they can visit them with sickness and death. They are constantly placated in public rites, so what wonder if the individual sorcerer should call upon or be supposed to call upon them to further his own private designs?

6. *Good and Bad Magic*

789 754 It has not hitherto been necessary to draw any distinction between the two classes of magic which may be called black and white. In face of the difficulty of defining the term 'magic' one of the most satisfactory solutions is to limit it to the nefarious and disreputable category. However, for the purposes of the present report this solution has not been adopted, and 'magic' has been made to stand for all those primitive practices, good or

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bad, which aim at results in a symbolic manner such as we, from our standpoint of more advanced education, see to be futile and mistaken. The methods and assumptions, however, are generally speaking the same, no matter whether they are in the interests of a good purpose or an evil one.

But there is no doubt that in the native mind there exists a fairly clear and very important distinction, viz. that which depends on the intention of the magic-maker. If his purpose be entirely innocent of harm to others he is welcome to practise his magic as he pleases. He is not known by any special name *qua* magician. Indeed, the character is universal: every man is continually making magic, whether he recognize it as such or whether it appear to him as common sense. But if his purpose be malicious he is known as *kaiembo* or *injambo*. These words may best be rendered by 'sorcerer', and the word sorcery (a synonym for black magic) applied to those varieties of magical practice which are intended to harm the individual or the public.

It is hardly worth making a point which arises from the different aspects in which magic will appear respectively to ourselves and to the native. To the native these are either maleficent or beneficent; to us they are merely malevolent or benevolent. This implies, however, that we might discuss the good and bad in magic from two points of view, viz. in regard to its intent and in regard to its actual effect.

It will be unnecessary to say much more under the first of these two headings. The distinction is clear enough. The best word to characterize black magic is 'anti-social'. This must not be held to imply, however, that the sorcerer belongs to a class of social outcasts and reprobates. My own impressions lead me to think that sorcerers—or at least imputed sorcerers—constitute a large class of the Orokaiva population. Any old man of character and parts, however respectable his general intentions, is likely to figure somewhere or other as a sorcerer. He may be guilty of the charge or he may be

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innocent. If he be innocent he may deny the charge or he may accept it and play up to it. In any event his power and reputation are enhanced, and he probably lives on undisturbed, fearing nothing more than a magical reprisal.

The processes we are dealing with are sometimes secret and sometimes open. These two classes, however, cannot be absolutely correlated with those of black magic and white. Many of the most harmless of processes are strictly individual and private, especially for the reason that they so often make use of some specific which is the more or less close secret of its owner. On the other hand we find accusations of sorcery levelled at whole villages. It was said to be the practice of the *Diroga* men, for instance, to act in concert when they 'speared' their victims, and it is certain that they made no secret of their powers. It is only possible, then, to say that the practices of black magic are for the most part performed in secret, or are at least assumed to be in secret.

We may now discuss the actual effect of magic and decide in what respects it is either good, bad, or harmless —not from the native's point of view but from our own, which is more remote and comparatively elevated. We do not, of course, believe in the manner in which it affects to achieve its results, as if a sorcerer could lay up his enemy merely by making play with a fragment of his loin-cloth, or as if he could make a taro grow by planting a leaf of a large tree in the ground with it. We might, indeed, condemn the whole body of practice and belief out of hand as bad, simply because it is mistaken, superstitious, and unprogressive. But a more lenient view would be perhaps ready to class many of these practices as merely harmless, even if we fail to find any actual good in them. The washing of a young pig with some magical infusion to make it grow, the stroking of a fretting child with a handful of herbs to soothe it to sleep, the calming of troubled waters with a tree-leaf and a spell—in such processes, however wide of the causal mark, there is little to deserve our condemnation.

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However, it is possible that the magic-maker, particularly the sorcerer, may sometimes succeed in bringing about the result he aims at. This might happen in either of two ways—directly, by the use of really harmful substances, or indirectly, by suggestion. If he use any harmful substance which has a demonstrable effect on the victim, it may fairly be argued that from our point of view he has abandoned the role of sorcerer for that of poisoner; but we may proceed to discuss this aspect even if by strict definition it should be excluded from the subject.

It is often maintained that natives hold the secret of many genuine poisons, and sometimes that the sorcerer is an out-and-out poisoner. The principal drawback to this view is that those who hold it are commonly unable to produce or identify the poisons which the sorcerer is supposed to use. The same is true of those abortifacient and contraceptive drugs which in the opinion of some observers *must* belong to a native pharmacology which is kept strictly secret from the prying European. One would be disposed to place some credence in this latter opinion if only its exponents could bring to light one really efficacious example. With regard to the poisons which are supposed to be used in sorcery one is tempted to be almost equally sceptical.

There is little doubt that the bush could furnish a number of vegetable poisons of a more or less dangerous nature, and no doubt that the native knows how to avoid some kinds of food which are injurious. But if we are to suppose that any of these substances are used in poisoning it will be necessary to assume that they are of a sufficiently deadly character to be effective in small and unnoticeable quantity. One may mention several of the better-known products which are recognized as poisons by the Orokaiva. First and foremost there is the vine *Anisi* (which belongs to the genus *Derris*), known as 'New Guinea Dynamite' because it is used for killing or stunning fish just as real dynamite is sometimes used by those who care little for the law of the land and less for the ethics of angling.

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754 to be the name of one of Handau's relatives whom he was
787 forbidden by etiquette to address or speak of save by a respectful synonym. Hence it was quite understandable, indeed necessary, that he should use the alternative word *samberota*.

The fact that Ohusa had entertained Handau so shortly before his death was enough to suggest that he might have made magic against him. The two significant cries of the *kombu* were enough to make the suspicion a certainty. And the friends of the dead man begged me to write a 'paper' and to have the suspect put under arrest and sent to the Government station for trial. It is important I should add that both these men were unmistakably in earnest and believed they heard correctly what the *kombu* said.

754 In view of such cases as these we may fairly conclude that the suspicion of sorcery is out of all proportion to the actual practice of it. For every man who of set intent practises the black art there are many—one cannot say how many—who are falsely accused of doing so. Of these some are sorcerers only by repute and perhaps seldom hear the charges which are secretly laid against them by the gossips. Others may hear the charges and even welcome them, play up to them, and perhaps be induced by experiment really to be guilty of them. We have already arrived at the conclusion in section 6 that even where black magic is actually practised the only serious effects are indirect or mental. In the present section we have seen that the actual practice is by no means equal to the alleged practice. The previous conclusion may therefore be repeated with more confidence. It is not the practice of sorcery which does the harm, but rather the belief in it, and especially the fear of it.

754 We have last to consider the attitude which is adopted
789 toward the maker of magic, whether good or bad, first by his fellow villagers, and second by ourselves. Under both heads it will be necessary to bear continually in mind the distinction between black and white magic.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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It has already been pointed out that the Orokaiva has no name for the good magic-maker, but only for him who makes magic of the illicit and anti-social kind. The reason is that white magic is made by every one: it is a universal practice, and if the hypothesis of the earlier part of this report be a true one we may take it that magic, being based on impulse, is at bottom a natural thing. It is not possible, perhaps, to draw a perfectly clear line of definition between good and bad in magic, because there will always be some intermediate and doubtful cases; but it may be said that on the whole harmless magic is in native eyes entirely guiltless.

Black magic, on the other hand, as an anti-social thing, whether it be directed against the individual or the mass, is frowned upon. But it is not as if the sorcerers constituted a criminal minority against which the body of public opinion maintained continual warfare. It cannot be said that Orokaiva sorcerers are a very distinctive class. There are no well-defined 'orders' such as are found among other peoples not quite so primitive. In fact any one and every one may be accused of sorcery, and (to repeat an earlier observation) of those older men who are in any way marked among their fellows as hard, shrewd, cunning, or cross-grained, I dare say there are few who escape the imputation.

The attitude of the public is one of fear and mistrust. Preventive measures are confined in the main either to conciliation (i.e. to the giving of presents) or to the making of retaliatory magic. We seldom hear of active measures, though instances are not altogether wanting, and sometimes an imputation of sorcery may be the direct cause of a village affray. But such affairs are mere acts of concerted vengeance: there is nothing of legal sanction about them. It is usually found that accusations of sorcery are made against men of other villages, not often against an individual of the village in which the effects of the alleged sorcery have been felt. Therefore, where there is such a marked absence of inter-village federation